775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 347, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
●794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (abafumu).

793 In Urundi these priests are called iviranga (sing. kiranga); in Ruanda, imandwa; in Kisiba, wabandwa. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the kiranga most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root kira, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become kiranga either because their fathers or mothers were kiranga and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a kiranga and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

791 As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic mediators of the world of the spirits are called imandwa. They are male or female, divinely chosen mediums of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

791 [198] or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are [672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

• 794 575 In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men (abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They all organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 575 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 575 198 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 575 171 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda. According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, before dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 575 171 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the historical Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 575 114 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] 794 644 575 In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

796 794 575 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[302] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
[301] also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

796 The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
794 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
575 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
198 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

796 Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
794 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
575 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
535 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

796 The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
794 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
575 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
786 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
●794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moonlight, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

756 There is another group of persons who maintain close
791 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

756 Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 372] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda). ●774 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and 173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 173 [171] time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established. It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

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lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 776 794 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
776 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

> 1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons
776 and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the
● 744 indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi). It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

774 776 The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side [273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to [198] praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba..., " pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

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776 9. Nkonjo, another enslaved servant girl, who was first to bring the sad news of Ryangombe's death.

She is offered a broom as a gift, the symbol of her work as a slave, and a small storage granary or some produce as a reminder that she was in charge of watching over the harvest and of attending to the household tasks.

10. Mashira.

The Banyarwanda, forgetful of their own history, regard him as Ryangombe's child. We have better reasons to believe that he was no other than the celebrated magician-petty king acknowleged as one of the most powerful sorcerers.

In ritual sessions, his representatives assume a majestic bear- [711] ing and hold in their hand an iron spear made all of a piece (igihosho), which is a sorcerer's emblem symbolizing strength. His followers [415] offer him an earthen pitcher of special design, with two openings and a drinking tube in each to permit the spectators to drink the hydromel it contains in honor of the magician.

His peculiar cry is "shi shi shi ...."

11. Mutwa, one of Ryangombe's companions, is invoked especially by the Batwa. /366/

This figure seems to have been invented for the sake of the [782] Batwa. He is offered gifts of beans, meat, milk, and sorghum bread which the members of this despised group share with delight.

The selection of these particular foods, which are offered first as a sacrifice to Mutwa, aims at pleasing him by satisfying his hunger. This is because the Negrillos, whose prototype (or ancestor) he portrays, do not always eat their fill, and these foods appeal to them as the ideal dishes they most desire.

New members were added later to this gallery of demigods. We shall mention only the best-known ones.

1. The Liberator Kibogo, son of King Ndahiro, is often invoked for rain.

[782] 2. The Bagoyi, lake-shore dwellers, offer libations of beer to Mwungeri, son of Nyankaka, who perished in the Lake Kivu disaster.

3. The inhabitants of the Bwana-Mkali honor in turn Rumana

794 776 and Mulengetwe, old historical figures who may have been notorious.

4. The "Munyoro" figure was invented for the same superstitious reasons which cause the Blacks to honor the spirits of the dead and more particularly the souls of those who distinguished themselves for good or for evil in the course of their mortal existence.

The figure of Munyoro was probably included in the ceremonies after the defeat of the Banyoro.

5. The inhabitants of the Nkombo isles render special worship to Muhima and Nyirangenge.

Muhima, a synonym for Mututsi, symbolizes the Batutsi conquerors who seized the isles, and Nyirangenge, a feminine figure, stands for the Batutsi ladies or personifies the intelligence of the Hamites.

6. Nyarwambari, son of Mulema and grandson /367/ of Ngwegwe, figures among Ryangombe's followers. The initiates do not have much to say about him.

7. Bukiranzuki figures among the daughters of the founder. During the ceremonies, the women who worship her wear on their heads the tail of an animal known under the name of igiharangu.

The members of this religious pantheon are numerous. They include, aside from the afore-mentioned figures, the founder's father and grandfather, Babinga and Nyundo; his wives, Kajumba, mother of Binego, Karyango, mother of Bukiranzuki, and Gachubya, mother of Nyabirungu; Nyirakabali, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to one of his companions; and Lubindankima ("the man who girds his loins with a monkey pelt"). The inhabitants of the Bugoyi have it that this latter figure, who was probably invented out of whole cloth, was the friend and confidant of one of Ruganzu II's great victims, the famous Gatabirora, nicknamed Bilikunkomo, whose actions and deeds have been dramatized and romanticized (1).

1. Cf. Book III /not translated/.

In the meetings of the initiates there is also mention of [825] Gassankomo, "the man who wraps himself in colobus pelts." This is the honorific name given to Kagoro, whose impersonator must for some

794 reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and
796 then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum
[625] or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe, " /not translated/.

794 To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail themselves
552 of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend, Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.

He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramuiema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
575 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 babandwa. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
575 into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the babandwa who conduct the ceremonies and the rusingo, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
575 interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
563 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the babandwa, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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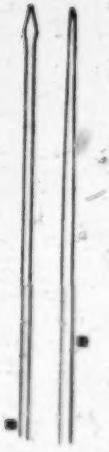

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

194 The importance of the dog among babandwa merits special
575 attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the
825 most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central
[177] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls" a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

194 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacri-
575 ficers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners] are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

3 [i.e. secret society members - Analyst]

794 515 293 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the

Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the 794 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is 515 associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

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by Father Van der Burgt (1), is connected with Binego.

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 516.

The uninitiated may not be present at the ceremony, and they are driven away from the vicinity of the hut with such brutal blows from a stick that they must often pay for their curiosity with severe injuries, sometimes even with their lives.

When the ceremony is about to begin, the "father" and his "child" sit down on stools facing each other, with their legs spread apart. The members ask them what they are doing here. Candidate and guardian answer that they would like to be initiated into the society. The members refuse, and sometimes they even try to drive out the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate loses his nerve and runs away, which ends the ceremonies. If he does not run away and the others agree to accept him, he is subjected to various tests which are supposed to prove that he is worthy of joining the society. The first tests are purely playful. He is requested to fetch a star and is told that whoever fails to do this is unworthy of being taken into the secret society. Thereupon the members take glowing embers from the hearth, toss them into the air repeatedly, and catch them in their hands. After this ceremony they again try to drive away the candidate with blows.

He is then given consecrated beer to drink through a straw that is plugged, and the same words are spoken: "If you do not succeed, you are unworthy of joining the order of babandwa." The initiated ones thereupon show that this is easy for them, and they drink beer with perfectly good straws. The candidate again does not succeed. After this comes the last test. The candidate is given stones to eat. Again he fails. The members pretend it is easy to eat stones and partake of bananas.

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575 The candidate then asks his guardian very timidly how one is to do all this. The guardian takes consecrated beer (buahoro) into his mouth and squirts it on the candidate. Later he rubs the candidate's face with kaolin (runoni) and utters unintelligible, mysterious words. This ceremony is known as kurawa ingwa. After this is done, the consecrator takes [310] a live coal from the hearth, tosses it into the air, and the candidate catches it. Later he gives him beer to drink through a good straw and hands him a banana which the "child" eats. Then it is announced that the candidate can be accepted. At this moment the songs begin. During the singing the candidate is sent by his "father" to steal bananas. If he succeeds in doing this without being seen, he is congratulated when he returns to the gathering. They praise his cunning and greet him with the name which henceforth is his in the society. After this interlude, the songs are resumed, and the "father" proceeds with the initiation, using unintelligible words.

With his guardian the candidate sets out for the muku or mulinzi, the tree consecrated to Ryangombe. Here the consecrating mubandwa's helper, known as muhiruka, joins him. No one else is allowed in the vicinity of the tree. After making certain of this, the candidate is stretched out on his back on the ground, and the consecrator and his helper perform a wild dance. They repeatedly threaten to stab the candidate's chest with a sword. This ceremony is supposed to make the candidate realize what would happen to him if he should decide to commit an indiscretion against the society. At the same time it represents the oath of the consecrator that he will carry out the punishment.

When the dance is over, all three of them return to the hut where the members are assembled; the muhiruka leads the procession, followed by the candidate, while the mubandwa brings up the rear. The other members (babandwa) come to meet them. Among these is one known as kishego. Kishego carries a burning torch (lumuri) and a small bell which he rings. All of them together return to the hut of the candidate.

After their return, the candidate and the consecrating mubandwa sit on stools facing each other. Between them stands a pot of marwa (millet beer), and beside the pot sits an old woman with a forehead ornament that has a rabbit tail. She holds a piece

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515 of muku wood in her hand. (Muku wood is consecrated to Ryangombe.) All those present squat with their hands stretched out in front of them and call upon Ryangombe.

After the marwa has been sacrificed in this manner to Ryangombe, the candidate lies down on the floor in front of the old woman who, with the muku wood in her hand, is supposed to represent Ryangombe. The candidate says to the woman: "Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho (Let me be restored to health, protect me this year)." The woman moves her head as though she agreed, mutters unintelligibly -- mmmmm -- and says: [311] "Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe (I shall protect you, I shall let you live, my child)"; later she adds: "Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe," which is said to mean "Goodness in abundance, thou Ryangombe." Thereupon she takes beer into her mouth and spits it on the candidate. This is the core of the ceremony. After this everyone takes a small torch and roams about the hut as though he were looking for something. After this hunt, the peas (maharagi) and stiff millet mush (mutsima) previously prepared especially for this ceremony are eaten. The Batutsi on this occasion also drink milk. This concludes the ceremony for this day.

After the common meal, the one newly initiated joins in the singing and is ostentatiously honored by those present. He wears a crown of grass, joins in the beer drinking, and eats the sacrificial meat. After he is through eating, he is told that Ryangombe and above all the spirit whose name he bears will protect him, that he will have many children, and that he may attend the secret meetings. He is also taught the sacrificial formulas.

After these ceremonies they drink beer until morning. Shortly before sunrise everyone present, except the one newly initiated, goes to visit the huts in the neighboring banana groves. This ceremony is called simply kusega. Everywhere the visitors are served marwa and nzoga, depending on what the host has on hand, and given bananas as presents. After the visits the members return to the hut where the ceremony has taken place to drink up the remaining beer. Then they go home. On the next evening or a few days later the mubandwa and the muhiruka go to the new

194
515
initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morning visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

[25]

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

794 515 been born anew as a result of the initiation, he is above the law of the profane and belongs to the ranks of the chosen. He must not forget, however, to offer sacrifices to his patron spirit and to Ryangombe from time to time.

A somewhat different and much more detailed description of an initiation into the society of babandwa is given by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi. This description, it seems, refers to a higher grade of initiation, about which I could find out little in Ruanda. I give a summary of it here, obtained from data placed at my disposal by Father L. Classe.

For the initiation two babandwa are necessary, a man and a woman. The man is called mugogo saidja, and the woman, mugogo kazi. Another name for the man is musego, "the [male] consecrator," and for the woman, muchwezi, "the [female] consecrator." Both together are known as "parents," baishebuhemba. They also have helpers known as bihale. The candidate is regarded as their "child" in the ceremony. The "child" is usually ill. The ceremony is performed at the instigation of the soothsayer who has been previously consulted. A number of objects are necessary for the ceremony: a knife; an axe; fire; a stool; calabashes; two kinds of beer; a spoon; a stick; a large needle; a tobacco root; a small stick of musinge wood wound with hair from the tail of an animal (mbwisi) and sprinkled with white snuff (ntendere), the whole thing known as kimwanda; an arrow; a hoe; two small pieces of wood from the mulinzi tree, slightly hollowed out to make them look like boats and known as bilimbe; and finally the bisingo, that is, skins decorated with cowrie shells.

[313] After their arrival in the house of the candidate, the baishebuhemba, wearing their crowns, sit down on their stools. They represent the spirits taking part in the ceremony. The woman slides her hands alternately up and down the stick. The beer stands in front of them. The sick person lies at their feet and is given snuff. If he sneezes, it means that he qualifies for the initiation. If he does not sneeze, the initiation ceremony does not take place. A member of the family asks that the spirits have mercy on the person, heal him, accept him as one of them, and take possession of him. After that the mugogo puts the tobacco

794
575 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words: [782] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

194
575

[314] The major tests come on the third day. This time the ceremony lasts longer and breaks up around noon. Besides the above-mentioned articles, food and a bow with arrows are added. The party goes to kagondo kakuru, which is known as "big" because this place is not in the bush but at the foot of a large tree. The ceremony begins with laying the fire. The sick man lies stretched out on leaves at the foot of the tree. The mugogo climbs up on a little knoll and calls together the members in the neighborhood with the words: "Esaire, Esaire," that the consecrated ones. The babisi, the new ones or the non-consecrated, are not permitted and do not dare to come. Only those who were once initiated come. They approach as though they were going to a solemn festival. When all are assembled (sometimes 50 or more), amulets and medicines are burned so that the babisi, the profane or uninitiated, cannot harm their sacred wood.

Later the head of the sick person, who lies stretched out, is placed on the knee of someone present. He is told to put out his tongue, whereupon medicine is placed upon it. The mugogo takes a small flat piece of wood, shoves it under the man's tongue, and with his other hand takes a large needle smeared with medicine and sticks it into the tongue of the sick man so that the point of the needle penetrates the piece of wood. If blood flows, the ceremony is worthless, for it proves that the spirit rejects the person. The helpers hold the man by his arms and legs, his head still resting on the lap of another man who supports him. The needle is kept in the tongue for an indefinite period, depending on the age and strength of the person. Sometimes it is left for 20 to 30 minutes. During the entire time the people present are dancing. The women beat on the hides they are wearing, and the men shake the gourds containing beer. They sing two words alternately: wabo meaning "they [or she; Ger., sie]" and bagaburi meaning "they deny me." At the same time they place their arm rings in front of the mugogo to ransom the sick one. When there are enough arm rings, the mugogo pulls the needle out. The dancing ceases, and they eat. After the meal they call upon the spirit, and the sick person is threatened as on the two previous days.

794 515 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, kulala alukome. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of mulwesero, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the baishebuhemba; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The baishebuhemba pour water into the small boats made of mulinzi wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (runoni). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his baishebuhemba and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of mulinzi wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The baishebuhemba order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the mugogo calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the luchwezi." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 515 184 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are somewhat different, but this probably indicates local differences in the cult.[1]

1. [i.e. the Babandwa cult—Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 – Analyst]

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

794
575
199
104

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	nyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

794
575
198
104

Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

794
575
787

blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

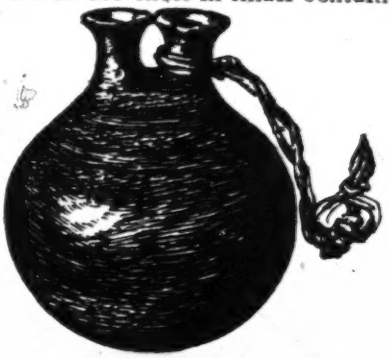

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

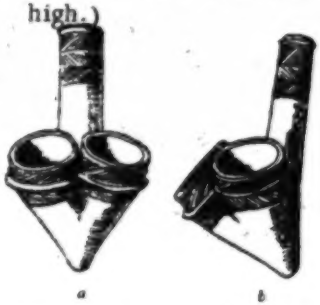

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

266 782 651 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago. The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[343] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 575 794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

266 794 575

guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13]

2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[1] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[2] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[1] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [2] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.